HERALD OF FREEDOM.

"I ENTER INTO NO COMPROMISE WITH SLAVERY. I AM FOR JUSTICE, IN THE NAME OF HUMANITY, AND ACCORDING TO THE LAW OF THE LIVING GOD."

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HERALD OF FREEDOM.

Sentiments of the South.

"Enforced by Necessity,—sanctioned by Religion—and justified by Law."

Such is the motto prefixed to an "Address on the subject of Slavery, delivered 7th Sept., 1835, at a public meeting of the citizens of Barnwell District, S. C.—By EDMUND BELLINGER, Jr."—We quote largely from it below, in order to show, from their own mouths, the views which the South entertain concerning Slavery. We would by all means be just towards them, would look upon them ourselves, and have others, ay, the whole world, in the power of its moral influence, look upon them in their true character; and we take this occasion to introduce them to our readers, in that character, through the columns of the Herald.

"We are here to-day, as inhabitants of the same district, *as members of one household*, ready to rescue our rights from jeopardy!

What are those rights, and how are they jeopardized?

I am aware, Mr. Chairman, that these are matters which will not admit of free and open debate. I am also aware that with our *enemies*, to use the language of the report which was just read, "it would be alike unnecessary, undignified, and improper to enter into any discussion in defence of our rights and interests as connected with the domestic policy and peculiar institutions of the South." In particular, the miscreant Murrel, and the fanatic Tappan, deserve, and will receive at our hands no reply but the *cowhide*, or *hemp*, the *lash*, or the *halter!* But at a meeting like this, where we are consulting for the good of the Republic, where my remarks are to be considered confidential, and intended to go no further than those who hear me, (or our friends,) there can be no danger, and may be great advantage, in examining the *foundation* of our rights, and the truth of those loathsome charges which unholy fanaticism and detestable avarice have combined to heap upon our heads."

Oh, no! we are aware, without this confession of Mr. Bellinger, that the 'domestic policy' and 'peculiar institutions' of the South "are matters which will not admit of free and open debate." They are founded in injustice and perpetuated by crime, and will not abide the strict investigation of truth. What a pity that 'remarks' intended to be 'confidential' should be picked up by those wicked abolitionists against whom the orator is declaiming, and be promulgated by them to aid the very cause he so bitterly hates! Really we fear neither 'cowhide,' nor 'hemp,' nor 'the lash nor the halter,' will cure such pertinacious fanaticism.

"I wave the argument, founded on the example of Greece, of Rome, of the English colonies, and of the United States, confirming the lessons of history, in all countries, and at all times, *that the people are most free, prosperous, and happy, under those governments which recognize Slavery.*

I wave the argument that there is *no* State in the Union where the *badge* of Slavery is not recognized; for there is no State in the Union where the colored population are admitted to a full participation of the rights and privileges of the citizen. They are, in all States, a degraded and inferior class,—the *same* causes which keep them in a state of *avowed* slavery at the South, keep them at at the North in a state of slavery under the disguise of freedom!"

[An excellent reply to the senseless and technical question 'why don't you go to the South?']

"I wave the argument, founded on the *political* advantages of Slavery in ameliorating the condition of the female sex [!]—in acting as a barrier for the safety and comfort of the lower orders [!]—in protecting the peace and quiet of the country against the turbulence of *mobs* [!] in preserving pure the elective franchise—in ennobling the spirit, and perpetuating the institutions of liberty. [!!]

I wave the argument that in all countries Slavery will and must exist. If not recognized and regulated by law, it will be seen in fact." [The sins of murder and adultery, always will and must exist: and if not recognized and regulated by law, will be seen in fact, THEREFORE murder and adultery are RIGHT! A conclusive syllogism this!—Ed. Her.]

"If there are no black Slaves, a substitute will be found in the lower class of citizens; nor will I pause to institute a comparison between the negro of the South on the one hand, and the French peasant, or the English or *Northern* servant, or the German boor, or the Russian serf on the other.

I wave the argument that the system of *negro* slavery has been in operation *for the last three hundred years*, and that the experiment has been fully and *successfully* tried.

I wave the argument that this is our property, like other property, bequeathed to us by our parents, or earned by the *sweat of OUR brow*—by the hard efforts of *honest industry*!

I wave the argument that no authority on earth has the *right*, nor, if we are true to ourselves, the *power*, to strip us of that property, or to crush the hope that we will be enabled to leave some small pittance to our children, who in a few years will take our place, when time and affliction shall have laid upon us their heavy hands, and checked and destroyed the vigor and alacrity of our brighter and better days.

Let all this go for nothing; brush it away as so much trash. I take *stronger* and *higher* grounds.—What has been and is our position in relation to this subject? We are not chargeable with the guilt of the origin of Slavery—the system was forced upon us—it has become *intimately* connected with the interests and happiness of our people—it forms a part, and an exceedingly important part, of our *social* and *political existence*, and we say *that the system shall be continued*,—THE RELATIONS OF MASTER AND SLAVE SHALL NOT BE CHANGED,—WE WILL RESIST, AND RESIST TO THE MOST BITTER EXTREMITY, ALL ATTEMPTS AT ABOLITION, WHETHER *PRESENT OR FUTURE, GENERAL OR PARTIAL, IMMEDIATE OR REMOTE!!!*

On this subject we have advisedly made up our minds. To use the language of one of the Resolutions reported, "We proclaim our stern and fixed determination promptly to repel, at any and every hazard, any attempts to interfere with our domestic policy;" and I may add, we also proclaim our stern and fixed determination *that this domestic policy shall, as far as in us lies, be PERPETUAL!*"

Rather difficult sentences for the trio who startled the walls of our venerable Court Room, and delighted the ears of the good people of Concord, last summer, with their eloquent defence of the South and Southern Slavery, and prepared the way for the 'glorious achievements' of the mob on the succeeding night. What will the N. H. Observer say to such broad and unequivocal avowals? The Editor's 'class-mate and room-mate,' the 'bland' Mr. Gurley, might, peradventure, be of good service by bringing to his aid the enlightening and magic influence of an Andover exegesis.

"Turning to the New Testament, I find passage after passage enjoining the most implicit obedience; see Luke vii. 8, Ephe. vi. 5. 9. Col. iii. 22, 25 iv. 1. Titus ii. 9. 1st Tim. vi. i. i. 2. 1st Peter ii. 18. 19. 20. Philemon. And nowhere in the Bible, from the commencement of the first verse in Genesis to the last verse in Revelations—do I find the system condemned. But if any doubt remain on your minds behold the example of Christ; He found existing the system of slavery handed down from the *original establishment* of the Jewish government. He found existing (under the Roman government) a system of slavery, the most grinding and galling—under which the master, (sometimes the owner of no less than 4000 slaves) had the power of life and death—under which the slaves was not permitted to testify, save under torture—under which the luxurious Roman, threw his offending menial into his pond, to fatten his fish—under which, if a master was killed, his slaves, (in the absence of proof) were put to death without mercy or discrimination! What was the conduct of our Saviour while on earth, and of the apostles after him? He did not make inflammatory addresses, or circulate incendiary papers! He did not denounce the system even of Jewish slavery! He did not endeavor to excite sedition and revolt! He did not convert the contented and happy Bondsman into a dark and desperate Rebel! He did not attempt to turn loose one half of mankind upon the other! He did not point to the end of his schemes "equal rights," and 'universal emancipation!' No! Other and different, were the purposes of his holy mission, and in another and in a different way, were these purposes fulfilled! He came to enlighten, to purify, and to redeem! If the system of slavery was noticed, it was to enjoin the performance of their duties on master and slave! He pointed to "a better world and led the way." His language and his acts were directed to that "glorious consummation," when "corruption should become incorruptible"—when "the mortal should put on immortality"—when "he who suffered in Gethsemane's garden" and died on Calvary's mount, should speak to captivity freedom, and call his exiles home!"

A horrible description, truly, is this of the system of Roman slavery: and yet to sanction this system "the most galling and grinding," the speaker blasphemously adduces the example of Christ! and as a consequence he would have us infer, we suppose, that the holy Saviour, who preached liberty to the captive and opened the prison-doors of them that were bound, looks with approbation on the bondage of the Negroes!—Alas, to what impious lengths will not the conscience stricken and desperate violator of Right and Justice be driven in defence of his course.

"I contend further, that our system of slavery is justified on the same grounds (to wit, the progress of civilization, [?] and the unquestionable laws of necessity,) as the exclusion of the Aborigines of the country from their possessions."

What an abuse of morality and reasoning. The Aborigines were excluded from their possessions—*ergo*—slavery is right! But suppose the exclusion of the Aborigines cannot be justified,—what becomes of the system of slavery?

"And I am thus particular and pointed because I have perceived with astonishment and regret that our true position and policy has been totally misunderstood in other sections of the Union. Thus, at the great meeting held at New-York, and at which no less than ten thousand individuals attended for the avowed purpose of expressing opinions favorable to the south, I find it taken for granted, that emancipation is an object as much desired by the south as the north, provided it be gradual. Immediate emancipation is condemned. Nay more, those who addressed that meeting and whose remarks were received with a thunder of applause, uttered such sentiments as those I read from the reported proceedings—"That slavery is a great evil we do not pretend to deny." (Did the Orator find this concession necessary to make even those resolutions go down?) "The south admits it, (call you that backing your friends?) says another orator, "Slavery was no doubt a disgrace," (spirit of Carolina! who is it that flings at thy fair fame this black dishonor?) "Slavery was no doubt a disgrace but it was descended from our forefathers." Departed Marion, Moultrie, and Laurens! could disgrace descend from you? Never! You bequeathed us an inheritance of rights and glory! Those rights are yet unimpaired!—That Glory is yet untarnished! Mr. Chairman, the language which I have quoted must proceed from ignorance the most gross, or from hypocrisy "double distilled." I cannot abide it—I tear it to pieces—I dash it to the ground—I put my foot upon the loathsome thing and say, That if any man at the south makes but a movement towards emancipation—general or partial—immediate or remote—he is faithless to the duty which he owes to his slaves—faithless to the duty which he owes to his state—faithless to the duty which he owes to his God!

I speak advisedly and not in passion. I trust that I am heard when slowly, solemnly, and emphatically, I repeat it:

That if any man at the south makes but a movement towards emancipation—equal or PARTIAL—*immediate or* REMOTE,—*he is faithless to the duty which he owes to his slaves—faithless to the duty which he owes to his state—faithless to the duty which he owes to his God!*"

Cold thanks for the denunciation of Abolitionists, and the sycophantic and slavish declamation uttered by the avaricious merchants and political gamblers of Boston, and the pert little towns which, like our own *Concord*, ape their movements.

"For the abolitionists—the impudent pretenders to humanity and religion—the infamous wretches—the dastardly miscreants—the vile instigators of villainous cut-throats, I have no appeal, while using every effort to deprive us of our rights—to disturb our repose—to alarm and distract the minds of those who are near to us in blood and dearer in affection—to render our slaves wretched and miserable—to plunge our happy land into a servile war, and cover it with desolation—they *affect* to talk of humanity and free discussion—they even pollute the name of freedom, and say they do no more than exercise those sacred rights and "privileges which the Constitution has guarantied to every citizen." Their devilish philanthropy is equalled only by their imperturbable assurance. They can "quote Scripture for their purpose."

They do the "devil's bidding, and call it God's" service. They come with the language of our *Saviour* on their lips, but with the malice and hypocrisy of *Satan* in their hearts. Do they profane the name of justice humanity and religion? If actions are to form a criterion for motive, they care not 6 cents for the principles of justice—they care not a *pinch of snuff* for the interests of humanity—they care not *a snap of the finger* for the gospel of God! If they aim at the character of martyrs, (which is somewhat questionable,) I hope that they will meet an *appropriate* fate; although if their fellow citizens respected those sacred rights, which the Constitution has guarantied to *us*, they would seize the *incorrigible rascals* and lash them naked through the land."

"I feel that I owe an apology for thus dwelling on a disgusting subject. I will only say that they should, by us, be treated with as little ceremony us a *wolf* or a *polecat*. Unquestionably they are the *vilest wretches* north or south of the Potomac, when, adding *blasphemy* to their other iniquities, they pray for the success of their hellish schemes."

Hem! what a mass of cavalrous epithets. Slavery must be an excellent school for teaching dialectics and billingsgate. Such a conglomeration of figures would be termed, we opine, by Blair and Newman, RIGMAROLE.

"I will not dwell upon the argument that our rights in this matter are *paramount* to the Constitution of the United States, and that no alteration or amendment of the Constitution can affect those rights.

I say I will not dwell on this topic, because I cannot believe that our rights, under and above the Constitution of the United States can or will be questioned: and because *if* they are questioned, *the case admits not of wordy debate.*

We will read our charter *with the bayonet for a pointer; blows will be the argument and blood the illustration!*"

[Poor man! he will find it a difficult task to *fight* with an abolitionist.]

"Mr. Chirman, allow me once more to advert to the language of the A. A. 1740 (*That this class of beings are and hereafter shall be and are hereby declared to be and remain forever hereafter, absolute slaves*) as indicating *the settled policy* of the state. That principle was set forth nearly a century ago, and daily experience shows the sagacity [?] of those who originated and sustained that policy. To those conversant with Carolina sentiments and principles it needs no "second sight" to tell that when that policy [the policy of *perpetuating* that system which makes man a chattel] is attacked, the Union is endangered."

"I also intreat you to believe that I have not endeavored to excite the fears or rouse the passions of any. I apprehend nothing for the present, though if it must come, better to us than to our children. But my object has been to express freely and fully my own feelings and opinions of the vitally important subject which we have met to consider; and further to impress on the minds of all, the clear, deep and unshaken conviction that the policy of the A. A. 1740 is inseparably connected and intertwined not only with the rights and interests, but with the very existence of our state; and that we must sustain our peculiar institutions, or ruin in its most awful form awaits Carolina. If I judge aright the feelings and principles of those around me, I speak the language of all when I say *we will sustain those institutions!* Yes, sons of Carolina, by the honor of men—by all that we value and all that we love, we will sustain those institutions *to the last drop of our blood!* "RIGHT, JUSTICE AND HUMANITY" IS OUR MOTTO! "IN GOD OUR TRUST!""

This hypocritical and blasphemous sentence closes the speech from which we have selected the above remarkable passages from a mass of the same character and tone. We selected them because we thought they would not only interest but instruct our readers. They disprove the idle cant of those papers which have told us the South was anxious to get rid of slavery. They manifest the frantic determination of the oppressor to retain his victim *forever*. They shew, too, that *conscience* is at work, that the labors of the abolitionist have not been for nought, that Jehovah of Hosts will redeem the poor and the afflicted from their unrighteous bondage. The extracts which we have given show that the South sees the result of abolition efforts, that it is aware that the end of them will be, not disunion and insurrection and carnage, which are bug-bear words, but the total overthrow of slavery, the pulling down of those strong-holds of sin,—the 'peculiar institutions' which they so dearly love. We have more remarks to make, but we forbear. The sentiments we have quoted will speak for themselves. Let us hear no more of the humane intentions of the slaveholder, of his desire to free himself from that system which more than any other has brought disgrace upon our government, the displeasure of God upon ourselves—and will eventually bring destruction on the blessings which our fathers have bequeathed to us.

Mr. Birney's Third Letter.

This letter is addressed to the somewhat famous "Committee of Vigilance" in Alabama and was called forth by a resolution, passed at a meeting of the citizens who appointed the aforesaid committee—condemning in bitter language the course of Mr. Birney and sundry prominent abolitionists. Mr. B., far from imitating the harsh tones of those *Christian* aggressors, for many of that committee were professed disciples of the meek and lowly Saviour, and some even ministers at the altar of the Most High—reasons with them in the spirit of love and brotherly affection. His appeals are full of the eloquence of Truth and Righteousness, and if they do not touch the consciences of some of those Southern Pharoahs, and rouse them to the discharge of their high duties, we fear they must be given over to the retribution of their deeds.

We intended to present the whole of this eloquent and soul-stirring production in the Herald to-day, but the crowded state of our columns forbids. We shall endeavor to lessen the deprivation which our readers will experience, by making free & copious quotations, although by such mangling we are aware we take away much of the interest which the undivided letter possesses. But since we cannot give the whole, we must be content to give such portions as appear to us peculiarly powerful and excellent. They are, however, we confess, much like the fragments which travellers bring from the splendid ruins of Greece—they increase greatly the desire to see the unbroken original, while giving imperfect specimens of what that original is.

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"1. *The character of the abolitionists.* Although there are among them a considerable number of high-minded, just, and intelligent men, who are connected with no religious sect, yet the great majority are Christians by profession, and are found among the most active, zealous, and well-informed classes of the several churches to which they respectively belong. In England they would fall under the contemptuous designation of 'Methodists,' the name by which the *working men* of all the churches there, both established and dissenting, are called, when spoken of by the irreligious part of the community, or by their more indolent and fashionable brethren. It is not meant that *all* belonging to the most zealous, active, and well-informed classes in their respective churches in this country, are abolitionists. By no means. Yet it is chiefly by drawing upon them, that the abolitionists have increased their numbers, from the mere handful of two years ago, to it may be 40,000, as stated in a meeting of southern slaveholders, held recently in New-York. It is a great mistake, to suppose that they have an over proportion of youth. True it is, that many young men, buoyant with virtuous expectation, of the soundest hearts and most cultivated minds, are swelling their number and adding to their efficiency, and that there are among them men venerable for age and wisdom, who have done the state and church much service, and who must soon, according to the ordinary course of nature, be called hence to their reward,—yet the great body is made up of men of the middle age, possessing in their fullest vigor all their natural and mental powers. Those who are reposing on what they *have* done—whose fame is built on the foundation of things as they are now, and who, in the greatness of their alarm at the least moral agitation of the community, seem to forget that 'God reigns,' or who are too inert and too much at ease for renewed effort to seize on the land that yet remains to be possessed; such are rarely to be found in the busy and stirring ranks of abolitionism.

Believing, according to the promises of God, in the conversion of the world, and that his truth, wielded by human agency, is to be the great instrument to effect it, they have not been backward in giving their aid to every benevolent movement at all connected with this great object. For the support of foreign and domestic missions, for the largest distribution of the Bible, for Sunday schools, for the tract and education causes, and for the establishment and endowment of colleges, especially where most needed, they have been liberal in their donations.

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As church members. Notwithstanding the violent denunciations to which they have been subjected, even from their fellow Christians, because of their uncompromising advocacy of the cause of liberty as immediately connected with the poor and perishing and neglected among us; no instance, so far as is known, is to be found where they have been brought under the discipline of their churches for unchristian and disorderly conduct.

As citizens. They are not identified with any of the political parties into which the country is divided. So far from it, these parties seem desirous of commending themselves to popular favor, each by outstripping its adversaries in their abuse, misrepresentation, and persecution of abolitionists. In elections, they vote by no party mandate, but as they individually believe to be most expedient. In every point of contact with government, they have shown themselves obedient to the laws, and faithful in the discharge of their civil duties. They allege, and it is believed, truly, that in the prosecution of their object—*the emancipation of the enslaved of this land*, they have neither violated, nor intended to violate, any provision of the constitution of the United States, or of the constitution or laws of any of the states. Of their yet having done so, or of their having written, up to this time, a single sentence which, even if the slaves of the south could read and had access to their writings, has any legitimate tendency to excite an insurgent spirit among the oppressed, they utterly deny, and demand other proof of it than is to be found in the furious clamor of slaveholders, who will not read their productions, or in the terror of mobs summoned to the work of bloodshed and demolition by the '*dough-faces*' of the north—panders to slaveholding avarice and passion—traitors to the wounded and almost expiring cause of liberty and humanity.

Last spring, I attended the Ohio Anti-Slavery Convention—was present at the several meetings of the American Anti-Slavery Society in New-York, and at the Anti-Slavery Convention held in Boston. On these several occasions, I became acquainted, and deliberated with, it may be, not less than one thousand persons, who may be fairly set down as among the most intelligent of the abolitionists. Subjects on which the most diverse opinions were entertained, and which to ambitious and untrained minds would be agitating and dissentious in the extreme, were discussed with the most calm and unruffled composure. And whilst some of the leading journals were teeming with the foulest and the falsest charges of moral and political turpitude, whilst there were produced in their assemblies, placards, calling on the mob for appropriate deeds, and designating the time and place of holding their meetings, that its violence might know at what point it might most effectually spend itself—yet not elsewhere have I seen so much of sedate deliberation, of sober conclusion, of dignified moderation, sanctified by earnest prayer to God, not only for the oppressed, but for the oppressor of his fellow; not only for such as they loved, but for their slanderers, and persecutors and enemies.

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2. *Their object is the abolition of slavery in the United States.* This is expressed in the constitution of the American Anti-Slavery Society, and is generally reiterated in the constitutions of auxiliary societies. I safely hazard the assertion, that in the multiplied publications of the American Anti-Slavery Society—in all the speeches, and addresses, and discussions of its agents and intelligent advocates, no other object is proposed, and this *only through the power of the truth applied to the understandings and consciences of slaveholders, to persuade them to do their duty.*

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Now, what a shame is this! Lovers of freedom, are ye?—and well content that her fires should blaze, and warm and purify *abroad*—whilst, at home, they must be extinguished, and your own house left desolate and dark! Lovers of liberty, are ye?—and yet, whilst the abolitionist is striving to uprear her fallen standard in our country, that all the world may see its broad folds waving in the purest air of heaven, representing in letters of sunlight, that, ALL MEN *are entitled to* LIBERTY—with myrmidon hands you rush to seize, that you may consume it in the furnace of a sugar house, or bury it forever in the marshes of a rice-field.

The importance of the object is by no means diminished, when it is seen how rapidly slavery is insinuating itself into the very religion of the American church. Time was—and it ended but a little while ago—when slavery was deplored in the south, not only as an *evil* of large dimensions, but as a transgression of the great law of love; which, whilst it could not be justified, yet some palliation was found for it, in the peculiar circumstances of that portion of the country—and a hope often expressed, that

in some way or other, it might terminate.—No section of the church was then found so besotted as to become its advocate and supporter on *principle*, and boldly take God's book of love as their warrant for holding their brethren in a bondage, unequalled for its enormities even among Mahomedans or pagans of modern times; nor so reckless of all decent regard to their character, as to challenge the praise of men for their meliorated condition of the enslaved here, as to morals and physical comforts, above what it would have been had they remained in Africa; or to set off against their iniquity the few instances of conversion to Christ, by which God, in the greatness of his mercy, had chosen to exalt his name, and make it glorious among the down trodden and perishing of a Christian land. Yet, all this has been done—not by a few ignorant and iron-hearted slave-driving professors of religion, but by the accredited organs of different churches in the south, claiming high stations on the scale of general intelligence, biblical knowledge and spiritual purity.

Now, I ask you, if to men zealous of the honor of God, and for the glory of his church, it is nothing which should rouse them to effort, to *see such* a system of "peace on earth and good will to men" menacing the whole land by its rapidly extending and darkening influence? Is it nothing that should animate them to holy, untiring action, to see millions of their countrymen and fellow creatures in chains, in their midst—to know that each day these chains are becoming heavier and more galling; to witness generation succeeding generation with minds sunk deeper in ignorance, and hearts in savageism—whilst from multitudes of them is forced the exclamation of hope beginning in despair, "How long, Lord!" And shall all this exist, and its continuance be insisted on—shall it become indurated, and this too by the sanction of a church professing to be God's, and by a people professing before Him and the world to have put on bowels of compassion, and to have the mind that was in Christ! and *none* be found to "cry aloud, to spare not, to lift up their voice like a trumpet, and show his people their transgressions, and the house of Jacob their sins?"

I do not intend here to enter into any scriptural exegesis to prove to you that the form of oppression called slaveholding is sinful before God, because it is the greatest wrong you can do to your neighbor. I know with what nimbleness you fly from the light of the *existing* dispensation to the comparative darkness of the *past;* and how, like the unhappy Gadarene possessed with an unclean spirit, you have made your dwelling among the tombs (of Abraham and Moses;) and how always, night and day, you are cutting yourselves with stones, and crying out to every one who would draw you thence, "Torment me not!" I will not pursue you thither; but of you who profess to be Christians, I would ask—and with no taunting or insulting purpose—Has the thing called slavery, as you practice it, (and I do not intend to say that in the treatment of your slaves you differ from your neighbors,) been found, at any time, propitious to your Christian growth, or to a closer walk with God? Have you not, (especially the "bishop" on your committee) on whipping a fellow being to extract from him services which only slavery authorizes you to demand, had some misgivings that you are, what God has said you ought not to be, "a striker?" When you wrest from him all the avails of his labor, except what will keep him in good condition to renew it, does it never occur to you that you are "greedy of filthy lucre"—"covetous?" And when you are under the necessity—even though it be to maintain the discipline that slavery calls for—of cutting and slashing, by yourself or your overseer, some half dozen of your poor and helpless brethren, whom, you say, God has committed to your care, does it never strike you as somewhat inconsistent with what he has told you by his messenger, "The servant of the Lord must not strive, but be gentle unto all men?" Again: has it never once entered into your minds, whilst attending the exhibition of human flesh, established in your towns and villages, that the slaver who supplies them is but your agent; and while he recounts to you his horrible adventures—of husbands without a moment's warning torn from the wives of their bosoms, and loaded with chains and driven like cattle for a thousand miles, on the highways of this Christian land—of the wife and mother, in the frenzy of separation, calling on heaven and earth to restore to her the husband and children of her love, and to blast the wretch who is tearing her from them forever—now standing before you in the stillness of despair, the tear, started by the memory of former joys, humble as they were, coursing its way down her worn and haggard cheeks? Have you seen this, and has not conscience, stifled and sepulchred as it has almost been, yet wrung from you the silent acknowledgment, *this is my work?* When you are casting in your contributions to provide for the distribution of the Bible in foreign lands, what are your feelings on recollecting that you withhold it from your "*domestic circle*," whose peace and quietness so much concern you? And does it cheer you, while praying for the heathen of distant climes, to have the idea rise up before your minds, that you are, as far as in you lies, maintaining here in your own country, at your own doors, in your own families, a system which in one month brings into being, rears and conducts to death, more heathen than all christendom has reclaimed from their idols and their vices, by the efforts, the expenditures, and the sacrifices of fifty years?

In the stillness of the evening, while your white family are assembled around God's altar, and are raising the song of praise or waiting in the prayer of faith, does the sound of the overseer's lash, or the distant cry of his victim suffering the penalty of an unexpected task, infuse fervor into your petitions or add richness to your symphonies? Or, when on the holy Sabbath, for the refreshment of your own souls, you frequent the place where God's honor dwelleth, does it add fuel to the fire of your devotions, to know that your twenty, fifty, or it may be, four one hundred slaves, worn down by the labors of the by-gone week, are dozing away their time in their hovels, or roaming over the country like vagabonds, with no one, not even those who claim their guardianship by *providential allotment*, to care for their souls, and that there is not present *one* to receive with you the blessings of a time and place so hallowed? And when you are receiving the sacred emblems of Christ's body and blood—your souls banqueting at the table of his love—at one moment melted into tears at the recollection of his sufferings for *you*, at the next swelling out with the joys, unutterable yet irrepressible, of his great salvation, does it never rush like the sudden pang of death to *your* hopes, that you are joined hand in hand with oppressors who have power, deliberately, wilfully, and this too, for the gold whose rust shall eat your flesh as fire, to withhold from your 'neighbors' around you all knowledge of that salvation—all participation in its hopes, and all the exultation of its joys?

I know how this cancer on your minds affects the most conscientious among you.—Therefore of such I confidently ask, if the oppression of the colored race among you, *as you practise it*, is not an undying worm, gnawing, day and night, into the very core of your religious enjoyments; and if you do not find, however good and gentle when compared with others you may be, in the treatment of your slaves, that slavery, as it exists in your own 'domestic circle' day after day and hour after hour, is distilling its odious and filthy poison into your otherwise pure and spiritual cup? And how can it be otherwise whilst (to use the eloquent language of another) you are making *men property*, God's image merchandize,—sinking to the level of brutes beings ranked and registered by God a little lower than the angels—wresting from their rightful owners the legacies which their Maker has bequeathed them, inalienable birthright-endowments, exchanged for no equivalent, unsurrendered by violation and unforfeited by crime—breaking open the sanctuary of human rights and making its sacred things common plunder—driving to the shambles Jehovah's image herded with four-footed beasts and creeping things, and bartering for vile dust the purchase of a Redeemer's blood and the living members of his body? How can it be otherwise, whilst you are maintaining a system which derides the sanctity with which God invests the domestic relations, annihilates marriage, makes void parental authority, nullifies filial obligation, invites the violation of chastity by denying it legal protection, thus bidding God speed to lust as it riots at noon day, glorying in the immunities of law? Are you looking for the *great peace* that is promised to them *who love God's law*, whilst, in defiance of all the light God has given you, you maintain a system which stamps as a *crime* obedience to the command, "Search the scriptures"—repeals the *law of love*—abrogates the golden rule—exacts labor without recompense—authorizes the forcible sundering of kindred, and cuts off forever from the pursuit of happiness? Do you hope for the 'reward' which the Saviour left his followers, while you persist in a course which prohibits the acquisition of knowledge by the terror of penalties—eclipses intellect—stifles the native instincts of the heart—precipitates in death—damps the upward aspirations of the spirit—startles its victim with present perils—peoples the future with apprehended horrors—palsies the moral sense—wholly in despair, and 'kills the soul.'

Anti-Slavery Discussion in Congress.

Wednesday, Jan. 6.

In the House—Mr. Jarvis, of Maine, submitted the following resolution:

Resolved, That, in the opinion of this House, the subject of the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia ought not to be entertained by Congress; and be it further resolved, that in case any petition praying the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, be hereafter presented, it is the deliberate opinion of this House that the same ought to be laid upon the table without being referred or printed.

Mr. J. Q. Adams suggested to the mover the propriety of postponing the discussion to another day.

Mr. Jarvis would comply, he said, with the request, if he thought the debate could be avoided—but as it must take place, the House might as well meet it now as any other time. In his opinion, the House was bound to do all which it was necessary to do, to dissipate the fears, however groundless they might be, that Congress entertained any idea of abolishing slavery in the District of Columbia. A large majority of the states, and of the people of the north were, he believed, averse to the exercise by Congress of any power over slavery in this District. Of other states it did not become him to speak so well as of his own, and he went on to show that the people of Maine, without distinction of party, reprobated the measures of the abolitionists, and of those also who sought to agitate the question, by urging the abolition of slavery in this District.

Mr. J. Q. Adams moved that the resolution be laid on the table, and therefore asked the yeas and nays, which was ordered.

The question being taken, it was decided in the negative—Yeas 63, Nays 123.

Mr. Wise submitted the following amendment to the resolution—

Striking out all after the word "Resolved," insert—

That there is no power of legislation granted by the Constitution to the Congress of the United States to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia, and that any attempt by Congress to legislate upon the subject of slavery, will be not only unauthorized, but dangerous to the union of the states.

Mr. Wise took this opportunity, he said, to bring this question directly before the House. Nothing would satisfy the south but a bold, direct and manly course. He wished to see how gentlemen would vote on his motion to amend, and who would move and sustain the previous question.—Let us come up to the mark, said he and toe it.

Mr. Glascock, of Georgia, submitted the following resolution, as an addition to the amendment of the gentleman from Virginia, and

Mr. Wise accepted it as a modification of his own.

Resolved, That any attempt to agitate the question of slavery in this House, is calculated to disturb the compromise of the Constitution—to endanger the Union—and if persisted in, to destroy, by a servile war, the peace and prosperity of the country.

Mr. Glascock made a few remarks in favor of adopting such a course as would unite the south and the north on this question, and put an end to this distracting subject. He was not unwilling that some regulation should pass, declaring it to be the opinion of the House that Congress had not the power to legislate on the subjrct of slavery in the District of Columbia; but he knew that to be a doubtful question, as to which the most eminent of our jurists differed, and even the people of the south held conflicting opinions.

He had no disposition to censure those of the north who might hold that Congress had the power in this District, and he would give them the more credit on that account, for going with the south against all interference by Congress with the subject. It was the object of his resolution to soothe the exasperated feeling of the south, and restore harmony to this House. It proposed all which the south required, and no more than they had a right to ask.

Before any decision on these *monstrous* propositions, Mr. Cambreleng moved the order of the day—and thereupon reported two bills, one appropriating $80,000 for the suppression of Seminole difficulties—the other making appropriations in part for the support of government. He then introduced the bill for the relief of the sufferers by fire in New-York, which, however, by reason of the various amendments that had been proposed to it, Mr. Hardin—professing himself utterly unable to understand it—moved to lay on the table. After which the House adjourned.

"AGITATION" IN THE SENATE.

On Monday, Jan. 7. Mr. Morris presented the petition of sundry citizens of Ohio, praying the abolition of slavery in the District, which was read.

Mr. Calhoun demanded the question on the receiving of this petition. It was entirely parliamentary to demand it, and he had a right to demand it. The memorial was a slander on a large portion of the states of this Union. It was calculated to excite agitation, which, on every account, was to be deprecated and prevented. There was, also, no power in Congress to touch the question of slavery in this District.

That it was a slander on a number of the states, was not only a good cause why it should not be received, but the highest cause which could arise. Senators had always refused to receive petitions that were even disrespectful to themselves, and should they permit sovereign states to be slandered? Should those states have less protection than the Senators who represented them?

He did not dread the circulation of papers and pamphlets; this the south would never permit; but he dreaded that it would compel the southern people to discuss the question; to discuss it in the presence of their slaves, and to produce on them the impression that they had a large body of allies in the states ready to aid them.

Mr. C. had still another object in demanding this question. The agitation of the subject was working to sunder the Union. On the south the effect would be to make them cling to the means within themselves, and at their own command to protect their rights and their property. On the other section of the country the effect would be to cause them to regard the south as sunk in vice and immorality. How was all this to be prevented? By permitting these papers to go through the usual course of receiving, reading, referring, discussing? No: nothing could stop the agitation but a stern rejection. Nothing would do but to close the doors against them.

Mr. Preston argued at some length to the same effect.

Mr. Tyler said he did not think the motion of the gentleman from South Carolina went far enough. Mr. T. wished for something more emphatic. He desired an express declaration on the part of Congress, that they had no pewer whatever over the subject.—He was willing that these petitions should take the course of others of the same kind before them. They had gone into the lion's den, and there were no footprints of their return. Mr. T. disclaimed his feeling the apprehension of a servile war on account of the white people of the south. The incendiary fanatics could do no worse than to give the colored people to the sword. He would appeal to nobler feelings than those of commisseration toward the white people of the south.

Mr. Leigh alluded to a pamphlet which he had seen, lately published at the north, by a gentleman [Dr. Channing] who had once resided in Virginia, which convinced him that the excitement in the north had assumed an alarming aspect. Mr. L. would go far for the sake of conciliation; but for no purpose of conciliation would he forego the constitutional rights which belonged to that section of the country which he in part represented.

On motion of Mr. Webster, the whole subject was postponed till Monday.

The Seminole bill was read twice and committed.

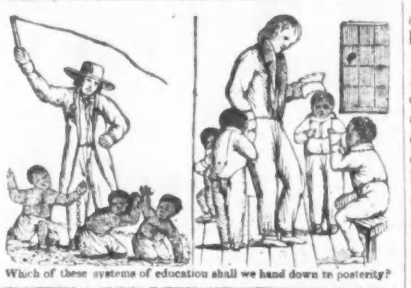
On motion of Mr. Webster the Senate adjourned till Monday.

MONDAY, Jan. 11.—In the SENATE—Mr. Buchanan presented a memorial from the Society of Friends in Philadelphia, praying for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia.

Some debate being likely to arise on the subject, Mr. Webster suggested that the ordinary business of the Senate should not be permitted to be interfered with, and on motion of Mr. Clay it was for the present laid on the table.

A New Year's Gift.

GERRIT SMITH, Esq. presented to the American Anti-Slavery Society *One Thousand Dollars* as a new year's gift.



Which of these systems of education shall we hand down to posterity?

HERALD OF FREEDOM.

CONCORD: JANUARY 23, 1836.

All men are created equal; are endowed, by their Creator, with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, LIBERTY, and the pursuit of happiness.

DECLARATION OF 1776.

All men are born equally free and independent; and have certain, natural, essential and inherent rights, among which are the enjoying and defending life and LIBERTY; acquiring, possessing and protecting property.—CONSTITUTION OF N. H.

A Son of Degeneracy.

At a political caucus lately holden at Weare, the Hon. CHARLES GORDON ATHERTON, a zealous aspirant for office and "blushing honors," made a most glowing speech, in which, forgetting Webster and Van Buren and White, banks, monopolies and democracy, he took occasion to pour out some three columns of his lagubrious eloquence on the heads of the abolitionists. As a matter of course, he made some sorry blunders, and uttered not a few bold and wicked misrepresentations. He rings the accustomed changes on those favorite words, 'fanaticism,' 'incendiaries,' 'madmen,' 'deluded enthusiasts,' and so on through the whole pro-slavery vocabulary. In reading the overflowings of his wrath, as given in the N. H. Patriot, we know not which to pity most his ignorance or his stupidity, the weakness of his head or the wickedness of his heart. There is a mingling of all those qualities, and it is somewhat difficult to decide which of them holds predominancy. He joins in the general cry against abolitionists, when he evidently knows nothing of their principles; he perverts, wilfully and boldly, their intentions and sentiments; he "tears a passion to tatters, to very rags," in order to throw odium on those who are laboring to give that liberty to *all* which he, in his aristocratic pride, and vaulting ambition would limit to a *part*. Well is it for his peace that the shades of the dead do not haunt, in our days, their degenerate posterity. Well is it that his noble grandfather is not alive to blush at the slavishness of one bearing his name. Instead of claiming descent from an honorable ancestry, it would seem, from the sentiments he utters and the language in which they are clothed,

"that his blood
Had crept through scoundrels ever since the flood."

The free spirit of JOSHUA ATHERTON abides not in the bosom of his perverse grandson.—The spirit of a Southern task-master is there instead. JOSHUA ATHERTON was a freeman, a patriot, an undaunted advocate of the inalienable rights of man, a pure-hearted philanthropist. CHARLES GORDON ATHERTON is a *slaveite*, a demagogue, a defender of robbery and wrong and outrage, a moral coward, truckling to the oppressor of his race. An excessive ambition has exiled all the nobler passions of his nature. He seems to forget that the black man has hopes and aspirations within him as well as the white man; that they are not to be crushed and degraded without violence; that, by nature the bondman of the South has as just a claim to popular honors, to a seat in the Senate of the United States, a guerdon on which the gentleman has a wistful eye, as he himself: and that whoever wantonly violates those hopes, or prevents him from asserting such claim, is an oppressor, a tyrant, a violator of Right and Justice. But we will leave the orator and give some extracts from his mendacious speech. The Patriot pronounces it "just the thing, for the times," a very equivocal compliment. We, with more plainness, pronounce it 'just the thing' which the enemies of liberty and religion wish to see; 'just the thing' which George III. would have said concerning Hancock and Adams; 'just the thing' which Leo X. would have said concerning Luther and Melancthon; 'just the thing' which any one would say who wished to be a favorite of the oppressor, and cared not to be the scorn of the true and the virtuous. But to the extracts.

"I will now, Mr. Chairman, ask the further indulgence of the Convention while I make a few [three columns of] remarks on the subject involved in the three last Resolutions offered by the Committee for their consideration. Every one that hears me, will, I am confident, coincide in the sentiment that it is the duty, of all who have the welfare of their country at heart, to discountenance and check, on all occasions, and by every legal method in their power, all measures, the design of which, or the direct tendency of which, is to produce a dissolution of our Union. There have arisen among us a few wicked or misguided men whose course has this direct tendency. Reasoning, entreaty & expostulation are lost on the abolitionists. They have scoffed at warning and despised reproof—they have insulted a community which has patiently borne their outrages on its intelligence—they have slandered, *with fiery malignity*, the best and purest of our public men, and trampled, *with furious sacrilege*, on the ashes of the benefactors of our country. Our brethren at the South, with one united voice, deprecate their course and tell them that their proceedings are calculated to produce unutterable and irreparable mischief. Yet with the spirit of *demons*, rather than of men, they are willing to persist in acts which may result *in servile insurrection, and in scenes of horror* which humanity shudders even to imagine.

But say they—our intentions are good. Legally, a man is supposed to intend the consequences of his acts; and, morally, he ought to be considered answerable for their evident tendency. If a man disseminates doctrines and perform actions calculated to blight and destroy all we love and value, it avails no more if he say his intentions are good, than if the madman who scatters "firebrands arrows, and death, should exclaim, "am I not in sport?" They profess to desire an amelioration of the condition of the slave. They must know, if their intellects are capable of receiving a reasonable idea, that their proceedings are calculated to produce an effect directly contrary. Well may the slave say "save me from my friends." They have proved to be the bitterest enemies of those for whom they profess so much philanthropy."

We suppose there *ought* to be something in the above extract which resembles reason and argument, but it requires optics sharper than ours to discover it. The whole is a wrathful *tirade* of invective, denunciation and unsupported assertion. It is simply a mass of trite and hackneyed epithets, gathered up from pro-slavery newspapers, and deserves no further notice than we have given it above.

"Again—they say they are prompted by regard for christianity. Such was the pretence of the assassin Ravaillac. Such was the pretext for the massacre of St. Bartholomew, when seventy thousand people were murdered, in one night, mostly while sleeping in their beds, and solemn thanks were given, on the occasion, for the success of the church militant. Admit that their motives are good, still, their delusions have all the tendency, and may produce all the effects of the most heinous wickedness."

He next takes up the case of Dr. Cox and "Mr. George Thompson—the miscreant who has fled from the indignation [i. e. the mobs and savage assaults] of outraged *freemen*." After quoting from that portion of the "Defence of Mr. Thompson" which compares the conduct of Dr. Cox at New-York with that of a missionary in India, the sapient orator exclaims:

"The undiscerning and blind malignity which puts this as a parallel case is remarkable. Missionaries go either to tribes in a state of nature, or preach by permission of the very governments whose people they design to affect. Far different, in this, are they from the abolitionists, who creep, like guilty things, about the borders of those states which they design to reform, not daring to enter therein, and who preach the doctrine, as the foundation of their creed, that, on all occasions, man must do what is abstractly right, without regard to circumstances or to consequences, while, at the same time, they have a most reverend regard for their own safety. It has been well said that, by the maxim which they inculcate of disregard of consequences, they must mean disregard of consequences to others, and not to themselves. For, although it might be supposed from their inflated boasts, that the honors of martyrdom were the objects of their most earnest desire, they wish to obtain them without the inconveniences of becoming martyrs."

"Afraid of consequences" to themselves! by no means. Had abolitionists 'had a most reverend regard for their own safety,' they would not have persevered, amid obloquy and reproach and personal violence to this day. They would not have continued their efforts in defiance of mobs and threats of assassination and abduction. Rather would they have shrunk before the storm, and sacrificed conscience and duty, with Mr. Atherton, on the altar of expediency. Rather would they have pledged hands with the slaveholder, and slumbered with him over the wrongs of two millions of immortal and free born men.

"According to the extracts I have just read, our countrymen as much need missionaries from Great Britain to teach them lessons of liberty, as the heathen sons of India need the gospel!"

And why not? For sixty years we have basely violated the most sacred professions; for sixty years we have dishonored the holy charter of human rights by our high handed oppressions: for sixty years we have enslaved and robbed and scourged and imbruted thousands on thousands of our fellow-men, wrenching away their privileges, ruthlessly outraging their affections, taking away the key of knowledge, sealing the Bible and hedging up the way of life by an impious exercise of power. We need "a missionary from Great Britain to teach us liberty." Every sixth man, woman and child in these U. S. this boasted republic, are SLAVES, slaves by *law*, by legislative enactments, by the judicial decisions of our courts—slaves in the lowest sense of the term, mere goods and chattels. We have yet to know the reality of freedom. We have taken lessons in slavery long enough. In the name of justice and humanity, let a new school be established. Not only Great Britain, but even Russia might teach us.

"The vindication of this George Thompson, to which I have alluded, furnishes a most melancholy proof of infatuation. It will be remembered that Mr. Kaufman, to whose high character for truth several Professors in the Institution at Andover bore testimony, certified, in an affidavit, that he heard Mr. Thompson say, "if we preached what we ought, or if we taught the slaves to do what they ought, we would tell every one of them to cut their masters' throats." An endeavor is made to explain this away, and a letter is published from Mr. Jarvis Gregg, formerly a tutor in the College at Hanover, in which he says, "I understood you to make use of the expression, "SLAVE-HOLDERS DESERVE TO HAVE THEIR THROATS CUT" in reference to what you supposed to be THEIR DESERT, and not THE DUTY of the slaves." What a defence! Mr. Gregg also says, "I trust you *will be preserved from using expressions* which may be *wrested* to your injury and the

prejudice of the cause of truth and humanity. May God bless you and defend you and keep the right." One might almost suppose that the days of the Jesuits had returned."

Here is a willful perversion of the truth. Why did not the speaker give the whole testimony in the case? Had he forgotten the affidavits of Rev. Messrs. Sunderland and Phelps? Why refer solely to Mr. Gregg? Was it to mislead the public mind? Was it because Mr. G.'s language could be more easily perverted? But let us hear Mr. Sunderland—

"I can easily account for the mistake into which Mr. Kaufman has fallen, in relation to what Mr. Thompson did say at that time as he appeared to be somewhat embarrassed, especially when he was requested to mention one place in the Bible, which gave one human being the right to hold another as property. He apologized for not being then prepared to quote a passage from the Bible to this point, and added that 'he could do it at another time.'

Something was then said which led Mr. Thompson to quote Exodus 21. 16, 'He that stealeth a man and selleth him, or if he be found in his hand, he shall surely be put to death;' upon which Mr. Kaufman immediately asked—'And would you have the slaves rise and cut their masters' throats?' or words to that effect. Mr. Thompson answered, 'NO! *But if one could have a right to cut another's throat, the slave has a right to cut his master's throat who holds him in bondage;*' and then added, that 'NO one could have such a right, and that he would not have a drop of the slaveholder's blood spilt, if by this means all the slaves could be set free throughout the world;' and language to this effect he repeated to Mr. K. frequently."

Pictorials.

The Herald, for effect, has a wood cut, weekly representing two *systems* of education, and asks, "Which of these shall we hand down to posterity?" The first representation is that of a slave driver unmercifully whipping three negro *children*, very young children too, bound in chains, and crouching under the lash. The other is that of a teacher instructing children. Now the Herald here makes the inference, not to be mistaken, that in the slave States the first *is* a *system* of education; whereas not even an extreme case is presented as probably having occurred—horrid cruelty without cause or motive. Slavery is bad enough in its most ameliorated form—but let the Herald, with its *pictures* be conveyed into the house of a slave-holder, and what could all the printed argument effect, with the *libel* in question? Just nothing, and *worse* than nothing. This we call "*driving*"—while the Herald professes to "use no weapons more *offensive* than such *arguments* as in their opinion have a bearing on the subject; no force but moral persuasion," &c."—*N. H. Sentinel.*

We are glad Mr. Prentiss so well understands the 'wood-cut' at the head of our editorial columns. It *is* 'for effect,' and we have good reasons to believe that it has not been placed there in vain. We would, moreover, 'make the inference,' we would by no means have it 'mistaken,' that in the Slave States the first [representation of the aforesaid 'wood-cut'] *is* a *system* 'of education,' ay, a legalized and popular system, a system built up by the hand of fraud and violence and high-handed robbery, and perpetuated and defended by the iniquitous laws and customs, the heart and will of society where it exists. We would have it understood, also, that this system is a *reality*, that it is not a thing of the imagination, of fanciful speculation, a mere brain-spun theory, but a fact, an existence, a living, practical enormity. We would make the inference that the representation is not that of an isolated case, but of a SYSTEM complete in all its parts, legitimate in all its results. So much for admission.

But these pictures trouble certain people—the slaveholder for instance—and even the equable Mr. Prentiss among the rest. Why do we employ them? Why not depend solely on written and spoken argument? Because we know human nature, its ways and wants, better; because we would rouse feeling, would awaken and fix the attention; because we would carry the whole heart with us; because in order to gain the judgment, we must first excite the mind to diligent and earnest investigation; because, finally, the cold assent of the judgment is little worth, is sheer mockery, unless the sympathies and affections of man be aroused to give to its decisions energy and effect. Reason should determine duty, but passion, deep feeling, must impart power and efficiency to its determinations, or else duty, however plain and imperative, will remain forever unperformed. It is a false notion, and has oft proved a fatal one, that man can be induced, by mere logic and argumentation, by the mere force of dialectical reasoning, to discharge the responsibilities of his being, where such an act involves in its performance severe labor and self-denial. They who think thus, wofully misunderstand mankind, are totally ignorant of the laws which govern the intellectual and moral faculties. The reform either of individuals or of communities, can never be accomplished without excitement, without enlisting the passions as well as winning the frigid and calculating reason. One might as well think to break up the foundations of the world without a crash, as to think a system like that of slavery, involving in its overthrow inveterate prejudices and long-cherished interests and habits, can be abolished without excitement.

Engravings are employed to enforce arguments, to illustrate facts, to give an energy to language, and life to the form of words, to bring before the 'mind's eye' more vividly than the arbitrary signs of the Alphabet can, the reality of the the things of which we speak.—They are used to bring home to the bosom of the reader a full conception of the wrongs and sufferings of his fellow-men, that he may *look on* them as well as *read of* them, that he may feel as though he were among them and of them, an eye-witness and partaker of their woes.—Why does the orator bring to his aid figures and tropes, why resort to similies and comparisons, and why employ gestures and modulations? He does it to give power and expression to his discourse, to rouse the feelings of his audience, to imprint deeply on their minds the sentiments which he utters. He does it because he knows the deep fountains of human sensibility are not moved by the rigid deductions of logic, but that something more akin to life and humanity is needed.—If one wished to gain the unreserved sympathies and charities and efforts of a person, would he go to that person with folded arms and composed countenance and measured and counted words? Would he place before him a written tale of the wants and woes he wished him to relieve, with regular syllogisms about duty and conscience? Or would he not rather appeal to those principles which have their origin in the very constitution of man? Would he not rather take him earnestly by the hand and lead him to the place where the robbers had plundered and murdered their victims, where the marks of struggling and blood were all around, and the groans and cries of the perishing were mingling with every breath of air? Would not the fresh wound, and the sight of the scourge and the blood, would not the struggle and voice of the sufferer, wake stronger emotions, rouse the heart to a more full and determined purpose, than all the energy and eloquence of language can do? Abolitionists know the influence of visual impressions. They know that such impressions are more powerful and permanent, than those which are derived from mere description. In consequence, they will make appeals through the eye to the heart and understanding, as well as through the ear. If such a course disturbs the equanimity of any one, we cannot help it. We can only regret that such persons are afflicted with temperaments so excitable.

But furthermore, the engravings used are *libels*, particularly, on the authority of Mr. Prentiss, the aforesaid wood-cut in the Herald. Now if Mr. P. infers (for *we* make no such inference) from that portion of the wood-cut of which he complains, that slavery is a system of such 'horrid cruelty' as is there represented, we have no serious objection. His ideas of its cruelties cannot be too strong, for human imagination cannot fully conceive them. But if he understands that engraving to represent a single case of cruelty, we *do* object—it represents a *system*. It shews, not that children go to school in chains, *catena vera*, or are driven thither under the whip of the overseer; but that the system of slavery is a system of violence and outrage, a system of fearful degradation and suffering. It shews that the education of the slave is not a training of his intellectual and moral powers, not a preparation for the great duties of life, but the education of the beast, a breaking down of the immortal spirit beneath the domination of force.—The school of slavery is purely and utterly a school of violence. Moral motives and influences give place to the scourge, the iron manacle, to an abject and servile fear of the lash.—Instead of mild persuasion there is heard the stormy voice of passion and fury. From the first breathings of existence till death, the slave knows but one kind of instruction—that which is given by the hands of the blood-thirsty overseer. The system of American slavery, under which more than two millions of undying and accountable beings are held, has but one character. It is a system of extortion, of high handed, villainous extortion. Instead of elevating the condition of man, its whole tendency is to degrade, to crush and imbrute the higher and nobler faculties, to make man a chattel, a tool, a thing of fear and despair. To represent this system, to contrast it with the system under which *freemen* are educated, of which books and not whips and chains are the emblems, we employ the wood-cut which has drawn out the animadversions of Mr. Prentiss. With these explanations of the imputed 'libel,' we hope all the spirits which have been called by its appearance from the vasty deep will be quieted.

THE PHILANTHROPIST.—The first number of this paper, conducted by J. G. BIRNEY, Esq., after many delays, has at length appeared.—We need not speak a word in commendation of it, for the sterling talents and unbending energy of its editor are well known. It is published at New-Richmond, Ohio, a few miles from Cincinnati, in which city Mr. Birney resides. Amid his labors of love in behalf of our colored brethren, oppressed by Northern prejudice and Southern robbery, and amid all his trials and triumphs, he may be assured he has the warm sympathy of the abolitionists of New-England. We bid him 'God speed.'

Rev. GEO. STORRS of this town is agent for the Philanthropist.

ZION'S WATCHMAN.—Here is a paper which should be in every Methodist family in New-England. It has just been issued in New-York city, and is edited by that indefatigable philanthropist and talented writer, Rev. LA ROY SUNDERLAND. It is to be devoted to the great interests of Methodism, but will be open to a free discussion of all the important subjects which now agitate the public mind. Such a paper ought to be supported, and we feel confident that it will. The Advocate and Journal, which possesses as much of the pro-slavery spirit as any paper north of the Potomac, ought not to be patronized any longer by our Methodist brethren, whose confidence it has basely abused. It should give place to a better. Zion's Watchman is a choice substitute, and we hope that it will be a substitute, at least in New-England. It is important that it be supported. We trust not only Methodists, but others will send in their subscriptions.—Terms, $2.00 payable in advance—$3.00 at the end of the year.

Rhode Island Anti-Slavery State Convention.

We, the undersigned, citizens of Rhode Island, and members or friends of Anti-Slavery Societies already established in various parts of the State, believing that AMERICAN SLAVERY is a heinous sin against God, which, unless speedily abandoned, will prove the ruin of this nation, and believing that the time has fully come, in which the friends of immediate emancipation in this State should concentrate their efforts in a State Anti-Slavery Society, auxiliary to the American Anti-Slavery Society;—do hereby invite a Convention for that purpose, to be held in Providence, on Tuesday the 2d day of February, 1836, at 2 o'clock P. M. and to be composed of Delegates from Anti-Slavery Societies already existing, and of such friends of immediate emancipation as may reside in towns where no Society on that principle is yet formed.

The above call is signed by 850 names of gentlemen from all the towns in the State, except two. We have no doubt there will be a full and efficient representation and that the proceedings will be such as will convince the South that the rights of which they demand a base surrender, will not be given up at the crack of the whip.—Rhode Island will do her duty, and the heart of the black man will be cheered and strengthened.

Pro-Slavery Excerpts.

"*Oliver.* But he *will* speak, sirs; he is troubled with spleen.

Colonel. Poor fellow! *wine* has a wonderful influence on the spleen."—*Old Play.*

"*Snug.* Have you the lion's part written? pray you, if it be, give it me, for I am slow of study.

Quince. You may do it extempore, for it is nothing but roaring."—*Midsummer Night's Dream.*

We copy the following items from the N. H. Patriot of last Monday. We have no comment to make upon them—we give them for what they are worth, merely premising that JEREMIAH ELKINS, Esq. of Meredith was orator, and SAMUEL TILTON, Deputy Sheriff, of Northfield notoriety, was chief marshall on the occasion which called forth the *patriotic* toasts, which follow.

"By *Mr.* [*Benjamin*] *Rogers. George Storrs*—A violent fanatic, denouncing all who oppose his abolition sentiments as drunkards, in his smutty 'Herald of Freedom.'"

"By a guest. *The Incendiary George Storrs*—No wonder he has so much sympathy for the blacks, for it is an old maxim that birds of a feather flock together."

"By *Mr. Rogers. The Abolition Society in this place*—Composed chiefly of women and children, the founders thereof like those of old time, who creep into houses and lead captive *silly women.*"

"By *Mr. Conner. Samuel Forrest, President of the Northfield and Sanbornton Abolition Society*—When he wilfully misstates facts again, may it not be in so smutty a cause as abolitionism."—*Sanbornton 8th Jan. toasts.*

Resolved, "That we view with the highest disapprobation the avowed principles of certain individuals of the *abolition* and *nullification* parties. That the violent doctrines of the first serve only to irritate the feelings, but not convince the conscience of the master, and consequently to increase the severity, but not to ameliorate the condition of the Slave; [!] that the latter party is now only sustained and held together by the fanatical proceedings of the former--both openly avowing their readiness for the disolution of the union, thus proving themselves to be twin sisters, and closely allied to their unholy progenitor the infamous HARTFORD CONVENTION." [Whew! what a minglement.]

Sanbornton Resolution.

"*Resolved*, That the relation of master and slave is a matter exclusively within the regulation of the states in which it exists and that any interference by the inhabitants of other states in regard to it is not only unauthorized and intrusive—but faithless and dishonorable as being against the letter and spirit of the sacred compact which binds us together.

"*Resolved*, That those who promote inflammatory discussions and are guilty of disseminating among the slaves of the south, publications the tendency of which is to excite insurrection, are regarded by us as persons prompted by the most reckless wickedness, or by an insane fanaticism fully as mischievous in its consequences.

"*Resolved*, That we advert with the deepest regret to the fact that some individuals of the clerical order in this State, have made their pulpits the source of exciting appeals and virulent denunciations on the subject of slavery—that we consider all interference from the sacred desk in political questions as aside from the sphere of the duties of clergymen, and that we view those clergymen who countenance the proceedings of the abolitionists and indulge in such appeals and denunciations as pursuing a course hostile to our union and to the cause of civil liberty and contrary to the true spirit of the Gospel of Peace."—*Weare Resolutions.*

Letter from Rev. George Storrs.

MR. KIMBALL:—I spent last week in Dover and vicinity. The members of the Dover Young Men's Anti-Slavery Society gave me an invitation, week before last, to deliver an address before them. I accepted the invitation. They secured, as they supposed, the Congregational Meeting House for last Tuesday evening—the appointment was given out in the different congregations the Sabbath previous;—the evening arrived; it was found that *three* or *four aristocratic* men belonging to the congregation, *feared*, or *professed* to fear, that there would be a mob, and their *property* in the house injured; so they took upon themselves the responsibility of *preventing* the house being opened, to the mortification and regret of almost all the church and congregation worshipping in said house. Hundreds came out to the lecture; the house would, probably, have been crowded had it been opened; and there is much reason to think there would have been no disturbance *that* evening. The foolish fears of these *aristocrats* encouraged the mobocratic party, so that there was *much more* reason to think, there would be an attempt to molest us at any future meeting.

The noble spirited Young Men of Dover, however, were not to be deterred by the aristocracy or mobs:—they secured the house for Thursday *afternoon*, and the friends of our cause, in the Free Baptist Society, proposed to have a lecture in their Meeting House Thursday *evening*. Appointments were given out, accordingly.—Dover is a large Factory town;—of course, many could not attend in the day time, being engaged in the Factory.

We had, however, a large congregation; much larger, no doubt, than it would have been in the day time, if it had not been for the conduct of those aristocratic men, on Tuesday evening. We held our meeting without molestation. At the close of this lecture, an appointment was given out for the evening at the Free Baptist house. We learned that there were some threats by the mob party. It was found, when we met in the evening, that some of these wonderful *defenders* of the *Constitution* were collecting. It happened that there was a caucus, or political meeting that evening, that took away the principal *wire movers* till near the close of my lecture. The meeting house was crowded, aisles and all, so that the mobocrats could not find a place for the sole of their foot *within* the house. We had no disturbance, of any consequence, till I had finished my lecture. About this time, it is probable, some of the *wire movers* arrived; and while Rev. Mr. Perkins was concluding by *prayer*, the mobocratic party gave us a *practical demonstration* that they had *feet*, and knew how to stamp and *kick*, as well as a certain *long-eared* animal, with which one is almost inclined to suspect they must hold some relationship, inasmuch as their *arguments* appear to be treasured up in the same place, viz. their HEELS. After the congregation was dismissed, the Young Men held their business meeting. The main body of the people having left the house, the mobocrats rushed in. Rev. Messrs. Root, Perkins, Mack of the Free Baptist church, and myself, remained in the pulpit till the Young Men had finished their business. A large number of the first Young Men in Dover joined the Society that evening. The mob kept tolerably quiet till the meeting was adjourned, and *I* commenced descending the pulpit stairs, when there was a rush made towards me,—they found near the foot of the stairs, however, more *physical* strength than they could readily *move*. I was received by a firm band of noble hearted men, who moved immediately out the door, which was at that end of the house, with me. The mob crowded hard upon our backs, and by every possible effort endeavored to come at and injure my person. One of the party, who will probably get notoriety by a legal prosecution for his riotous conduct that evening, endeavored to trip up my heels, but I was borne steadily forward by the friends around me. In another onset, by the same person, he mistook, as is supposed, a large stout man for myself, and commenced *kicking* him; he very soon found, however, that there was some strength concealed in a strong arm that gave him *marching orders*. The mob shouted, hallooed, made various noises and crowded upon us so close that we could tell there by the *smell*, RUM! without which, you know, mobs would soon die. We at length arrived at the door of Elder Perkins' house, and as a *light* appeared at the door, these lovers of darkness *fled*.

The greatest feat the mob performed was, as is supposed, to break down a couple of spruce trees, about an inch and a half in diameter, that stood at the corner of Elder Perkins' house;—probably their heads were so turned, that these little harmless trees were magnified to such a size as to be mistaken for men; and having laid them low, they might feel satisfied with their "CROWN OF HONOR."

The next day I visited Portsmouth, twelve miles from Dover, where there is a small but efficient Anti-Slavery Society. They held a *special* meeting that evening, and by their request I gave them a short lecture.

The Anti-Slavery cause is going forward in Portsmouth; slow it may be, but sure and powerful. I trust the time is not far distant, when the world will see, that, Portsmouth *is* on the side of *free discussion*.

The Northfield affair is doing much in this region for the cause of Abolition. Light is spreading—a thirst for information on this subject is increasing—our cause is advancing; it *must* and *will* triumph. Let us trust in God, and go forward in his name and strength, and under the direction of his word; then shall we go *safely* and *surely*. The day, I trust, is not far distant, when slavery, this reproach of our land, shall be wiped away forever. May the Lord hasten that happy time.

Yours in the cause of Liberty,

GEO. STORRS

Jan. 18, 1836.

☞ The trial of Rev. Mr. STORRS at Northfield is published and ready for delivery. Price $2 per hundred or 25 cents per dozen. For sale at this office.

Washington's Opinion of Slavery.

The annexed extracts of letters written by Gen. Washington, may be found in the 9th volume of Mr. Sparks' edition, just published.

To Robert Morris, dated April 12th, 1786.

"I hope it will not be conceived from these observations, that it is my wish to hold the unhappy people, who are the subject of this letter, in slavery. I can only say, that there is not a man living, who wishes more sincerely than I do to see a plan adopted for the abolition of it; but there is only one proper and effectual mode by which it can be accomplished, and that is by legislative authority; and this as far as my suffrage will go, shall never be wanting."

To the Marquis de Lafayette, May 10th, 1786.

"The benevolence of your heart my dear Marquis, is so conspicuous on all occasions, that I never wonder at any fresh proofs of it; but your late purchase of an Estate in the colony of Cayenne, with a view of emancipating the slaves on it, is a generous and noble proof of your humanity. Would to God a like spirit might diffuse itself generally into the minds of the people of this country. But I despair of seeing it. Some petitions were presented to the assembly, at its last session, for the abolition of slavery, but they could scarcely obtain a reading. To set the slaves afloat at once would, I really believe, be productive of much inconvenience and mischief, but by degrees it certainly might and assuredly ought to be effected; and that too by legislative authority."

To John F. Mercer, September 9th, 1786.

"I never mean, unless some particular circumstance should compel me to it, to possess another slave by purchase, it being among my first wishes to see some plan adopted, by which slavery in this country may be abolished by law."

AN AFFECTING SLAVE CASE.—A slave case of unusual interest has been decided at Mount Holly, N. J. before Judge Haywood, after occupying the attention of the court for two weeks. It involved the liberty of Alexander Hempsley, alias Nathan, his wife, and three children. The Burlington Herald says—Hempsley and wife were arrested by warrant on the 24th of October last, and both parties being ready for trial, on Wednesday, the 9th inst., it commenced at 11 o'clock, at the court house. A great concourse attended from day to day. Hempsley was held in high repute by the colored population, to whom he was favorably known as a preacher, and our citizens who knew him, all bore testimony to his exemplary and worthy character. He was claimed as the property of Isaac Baggs, deceased, of Queen Ann county, Maryland, and Goldsborough Price, executor, and son-in-law of Baggs, empowered John Willoughby as his attorney, who appeared in that capacity as plaintiff in the action.

The result of the trial was delivered on Wednesday morning at 9 o'clock, by Judge Haywood after occupying the court for two weeks. The man was pronounced a slave, but the woman and children were acquitted. A certiorari from the Supreme Court was then presented by defendant's counsel, and so his case will be determined before that tribunal.

A PRACTICAL TREATISE ON THE CULTURE OF SILK, adapted to the climate and soil of the United States, By F. G. COMSTOCK, Secretary of the Hartford County Silk Society, and Editor of the Silk Culturist. Illustrated by engravings.

The interest in all parts of the United States in the Culture and Manufacture of Silk, manifested by the constant calls for information on the subject, has induced the publisher to have prepared a plain *Practical Treatise* on the Cultivation of the Mulberry and Rearing Silk Worms, adapted to the Soil and Climate of this country and to the wants of plain practical men.

The Practical Culturist in this country needs a directory adapted to the Soil on which he plants his trees, and the Climate in which he rears his worms, without reference to Soils and Climates less congenial to their growth. It has been therefore the object of the author to make a treatise strictly practical, omitting nothing of importance and adding nothing of a useless or extraneous character.

As making the raw material into Sewing Silk and Twist is very profitable to the Silk grower, all necessary information for that purpose will be given.

This Work is in Press and will soon be published in a duodecimo of about 100 pages, in handsome binding—price 50 cents. A part of the edition will be put up in elastic covers to be forwarded by mail.

Editors of Newspapers who will give the above three insertions, with this notice, and forward their paper with the advertisement marked, shall be entitled to a copy of the work, to be forwarded to their order.

WM. G. COMSTOCK.

Hartford, Dec. 1835.

ANTI-SLAVERY PUBLICATIONS.

JAY'S INQUIRY into the Colonization and Anti-Slavery Societies, price 37 1-2
TESTIMONY OF GOD against Slavery, by Rev. La Roy Sunderland, 37 1-2
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ANTI-SLAVERY RECORD, 1.50 per hund.
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Report of the N. H. A. S. Society, $4 per hund.
MAN STEALING AND SLAVERY denounced by the Presbyterian and Methodist Churches.
PROCEEDINGS of the N. E. Convention, held May 1834.

☞ For Sale at the Herald of Freedom Office, Merrimack County Bank Building.

ANTI-SLAVERY ALMANAC for the year 1836. Price $4 per hundred—6 1-4 cts. single.

For sale at the Herald of Freedom Office

POETRY.

[From the Savannah Georgian.]

Our Flag.

Let our flag be flung to the wild wind free,
Let it float o'er our "father land,"
And the guards of its spotless fame shall be,
Columbia's chosen band;
It has wav'd o'er the field of blood and strife,
It has stood through the battle storm,
It has been to the living, a sign of life,
And a shroud to the hero's form;
And where'er is seen its spangled wreath,
There are freemen's hearts that bound beneath.

Let its folds be flung to the wild wind free,
And untouch'd by dishonor's stain,
It shall wave in pride o'er the briny sea,
O'er each hill, and moor, and plain;
Shall a star from its azure field grow dim,
Shall a single glory fade,
Nor bring the traitor's doom to him,
Who the change of ill hath made?
Honor to those who its fame would save,
To its foeman's ranks, the felon's grave.

[For the Herald of Freedom.]

Parody.

Written impromptu on reading the preceding stanzas.

BY J. H. LE ROY.

And the flag is flung to the wild wind free,
And it floats o'er their 'father land.'
But the stain of blood and of infamy
Is bright on the bearer's hand.
It is waving high o'er a land of SLAVES!
And its shadow is falling broad,
To defend a trade in the souls of men,
In the imagery of God!
Alas! alas! for its spangled wreath,
There are hearts of agony crushed beneath.

Its folds are flung to the wild wind free;
But dishonor and shame are there;
'Tis a shield of crime upon land and sea,
And it clouds the sunny air.
The stars on its azure fields are dim,
Its stripes have their glory lost,
And instead, the seal of a perjured faith
Glares forth as its folds are tossed.
Honor to those who its fame would save,
Who would rear it aloft over Falsehood's grave.

MISCELLANY.

PROTEST

OF THE AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

To the President of the United States:

SIR,—In your message to Congress of the 7th instant, are the following passages: 'I must also invite your attention to the painful excitement produced in the south by attempts to circulate through the mails inflammatory appeals, *addressed to the passions of the slaves*, in prints and in various sorts of publications, *calculated to stimulate them to insurrection, and produce all the horrors of a servile war*. There is doubtless no respectable portion of our countrymen, who can be so far misled as to feel any other sentiment than that of indignant regret, at conduct so destructive of the harmony and peace of the country, and *so repugnant to the principles of our national compact, and to the dictates of humanity and religion*.' You remark that it is fortunate that the people of the north have 'given so strong and impressive a tone to the sentiments entertained against the proceedings of the misguided persons who have engaged in these *unconstitutional and wicked attempts*.' And you proceed to suggest to congress, 'the propriety of passing such a law as will prohibit, under severe penalties, the circulation in the southern states, through the mails, of incendiary publications, INTENDED *to instigate the slaves to insurrection*.'

A servile insurrection, as experience has shown, involves the slaughter of the whites, without respect to sex or age. Hence, sir the purport of the information you have communication to Congress, and to the world, is, that there are American citizens who, in violation of the dictates of humanity and religion, have engaged in unconstitutional and wicked attempts to circulate through the mails, inflammatory appeals, addressed to the passions of the slaves, and which appeals, as is implied in the object of our proposed law, are *intended* to stimulate the slaves to indiscriminate massacre. Recent events irresistibly confine the application of your remarks to the officers and members of the American Anti-Slavery Society and its auxiliaries.

On the 28th March, 1831, the Senate of the United States passed the following resolution:

'Resolved, That the President, in relation to the public revenue, has assumed upon himself authority and power not conferred by the Constitution and laws, but in derogation of both.'

On the 15th of the ensuing month, you transmitted to that body your 'solemn protest' against their decision. Instructed by your example, we now, sir, in behalf of the society of which we are the constituted organs, and in behalf of all who are associated with it, present to you this, our 'solemn protest' against your grievous and unfounded accusations.

Should it be supposed that in thus addressing you we are wanting in the respect due to your exalted station, we offer in our vindication your own acknowledgment to the Senate: 'Subject only to the restraints of truth and justice, the free people of the U. States have the undoubted right as individuals, or collectively, orally or in writing, at such times, and in such language and form, as they may think proper, to discuss his (the President's) official conduct, and to express and promulgate their opinions concerning it.'

In the exercise of this 'undoubted right,' we protest against the judgment you have pronounced against abolitionists.

First, Because, in rendering that judgment officially, you assumed a power not belonging to your office.

You complained that the resolution censuring your conduct, 'though adopted by the Senate in its legislative capacity, is, in its effect, and in its characteristics, essentially *judicial*.' And thus, sir, although the charges of which we complain were made by you in your executive capacity, they are, equally with the resolution, essentially judicial. The Senate adjudged that your conduct was unconstitutional. You pass the same judgment on our efforts. Nay, sir, you go farther than the Senate. That body forbore to impeach your motives—but you have assumed the prerogatives, not only of a court of law, but of conscience—and pronounce our efforts to be *wicked* as well as unconstitutional.

Secondly, We protest against the *publicity* you have given to your accusations.

You felt it to be a grievance that the charge against you was 'spread upon the journal of the Senate, published to the nation and to the world—made part of our enduring archives, and incorporated in the history of the age. The punishment of removal from office, and future disqualification, does not follow the decision; but the MORAL INFLUENCE of a solemn declaration by a majority of the Senate, that the accused is guilty of the offence charged upon him, has been as effectually secured as if the declaration had been made upon an impeachment expressed in the same terms.'

And is it nothing, sir, that we are officially charged by the President of the United States with wicked and unconstitutional efforts, and with harboring the most execrable intentions; and this too in a document spread upon the journals of both Houses of Congress, published to the nation and to the world, made part of our enduring archives, and incorporated in the history of the age? It is true, that although you have given judgment against us, you cannot award execution. We are not indeed subjected to the penalty of murder; but need we ask you, sir, what must be the MORAL INFLUENCE of your declaration, that we have intended its perpetration?

Thirdly, We protest against your condemnation of us *unheard*.

What, sir, was your complaint against the Senate? 'Without notice, *unheard* and untried, I find myself charged, on the records of the Senate, and in a form unknown in our country, with the high crime of violating the laws and Constitution of my country. No notice of the charge was given to the accused, and no opportunity afforded him to respond to the accusation—to meet his accusers face to face—to cross-examine the witnesses—to procure counteracting testimony, or to be heard in his defence.'

Had you, sir, done to others, as it thus seems you would that others should do to you, no occasion would have been given for this protest. You most truly assert, in relation to the conduct of the Senate, 'It is the policy of our benign system of jurisprudence, to secure in all criminal proceedings, and even in the most trivial litigations, a fair, unprejudiced, and impartial trial.' And by what authority, sir, do you expect such of your fellow-citizens as are known as abolitionists, from the benefit of this benign system? When has a fair, unprejudiced, and impartial trial been recorded to those who dare to maintain that all men are equally entitled to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness? What was the trial, sir, which preceded the judgment you have rendered against them?

Fourthly, We protest against the *vagueness* of your charges.

We cannot more forcibly describe the injustice you have done us, than by adopting your own indignant remonstrance against what you deemed similar injustice on the part of the Senate. 'Some of the first principles of natural right and enlightened jurisprudence, have been violated in the very form of the resolution. It carefully abstains from averring in *which* of the late proceedings the President has assumed upon himself authority and power not conferred by the Constitution and laws. Why was not the certainty of the offence, the nature and cause of the accusation, set out in the manner required in the Constitution, before even the humblest individual, for the smallest crime, can be exposed to condemnation? Such a specification was due to the accused, that he might direct his defence to the real points of attack. A more striking illustration of the soundness and necessity of the rules which forbid *vague and indefinite generalities*, and require a reasonable certainty in all judicial allegations, and a more glaring instance of the violation of these rules, has seldom been exhibited.'

It has been reserved for you, sir, to exhibit a still more striking illustration of the importance of these rules, and a still more glaring instance of their violation. You have accused an indefinite number of your fellow-citizens, without designation of name or residence, of making unconstitutional and wicked efforts, and of harboring intentions which could be entertained only by the most depraved and abandoned of all mankind; and yet you carefully abstain from averring *which* article of the constitution they have transgressed; you omit stating when, where, and by whom these wicked attempts were made; you give no specification of the inflammatory appeals, which you assert have been addressed to the passions of the slaves. You well know that the '*moral influence*' of your charges will affect thousands and tens of thousands of your countrymen, many of them your political friends—some of them heretofore honored with your confidence—most, if not all of them, of irreproachable characters; and yet, by the very vagueness of your charges, you incapacitate each one of this multitude from proving his innocence.

Fifthly. We protest against your charges, because they are *untrue*. Surely, sir, the burthen of proof rests upon you. If you possess evidence against us, we are, by your own shewing, entitled to 'an opportunity to cross-examine witnesses, to procure counteracting testimony, and to be heard in [our] defence.' You complained that you had been denied such an opportunity. It was not to have been expected, then, that you would make the conduct of the Senate the model of your own. Conscious of the wrong done to you, and protesting against it, you found yourself compelled to enter on your defence. You have placed us in similar circumstances, and we proceed to follow your example:

The substance of your various allegations may be embodied in the charge, *that we have attempted to circulate through the mails appeals addressed to the passions of the slaves, calculated to stimulate them to insurrection, and with the intention of producing a servile war*.

It is deserving of notice, that the *attempt* to circulate our paper is alone charged upon us. It is not pretended that we have put our appeals into the hands of a single slave, or that in any instance our endeavors to excite a servile war have been crowned with success. And in what way was our most execrable attempts made? By secret agents, traversing the slave country in disguise, stealing by night into the hut of the slave, and there reading to him our inflammatory appeals? You, sir, answer this question by declaring, that we attempted the mighty mischief by circulating our appeals 'THROUGH THE MAILS!' And are the southern slaves, sir, accustomed to receive periodicals by mail? Of the thousands of publications mailed from the Anti-Slavery Office for the south, did you ever hear, sir, of one solitary paper being addressed to a slave? Would you know to whom they were directed, consult the southern newspapers, and you will find them complaining that they were sent to public officers, clergymen, and other influential citizens. Thus it seems we are incendiaries, who place the torch in the hands of him whose dwelling we would fire! We are conspiring to excite a servile war, and announce our design to the masters, and commit to their care and disposal the very instruments by which we expect to effect our purpose! It has been said that thirty or forty of our papers were received at the south, directed to free people of color. We cannot deny the assertion, because these papers may have been mailed by others, for the sinister purpose of charging the act upon us. We are, however, ready to make our several affidavits that not one paper, with our knowledge or by our authority, has ever been sent to any colored person in a slave state. The free people of color at the south can exert no influence in behalf of the enslaved; and we have no disposition to excite odium against them, by making them the recipients of our publications.

Your proposal that a law should be passed, punishing the circulation through the mails of papers *intended to excite the slaves to insurrection*, necessarily implies that such papers are now circulated; and you expressly and positively assert, that we have attempted to circulate appeals addressed to the passions of the slaves, and *calculated to produce all the horrors of a servile war*. We trust, sir, your proposed law, so portentous to the freedom of the press, will not be enacted, till you have furnished Congress with stronger evidence of its necessity than unsupported assertions. We hope you will lay before that body, for its information, the papers to which you refer. This is the more necessary, as the various public journals and meetings, which have denounced us for entertaining insurrectionary and murderous designs, have in no instance been able to quote from our publications a single exhortation to the slaves to break their fetters or the expression of a solitary wish for a servile war.

How far our writings are "*calculated*" to produce insurrection, is a question which will be variously decided according to the latitude in which it was discussed. When we recollect that the humble school book, the tale of fiction, and the costly annual, have been placed under the ban of southern editors for trivial allusions to slavery—and that a southern divine has warned his fellow citizens of the danger of permitting slaves to be present at the celebration of our national festival, where they might listen to the Declaration of Independence, and to the eulogiums on liberty—we have little hope that our disquisitions on human rights will be generally deemed safe and innocent, where these rights are habitually violated. Certain writings of one of your predecessors, President Jefferson, would undoubtedly be regarded, in some places, so insurrectionary as to expose to popular violence whoever should presume to circulate them.

As therefore, sir, there is no common standard by which the criminality of opinions respecting slavery can be tested, we acknowledge the foresight which prompted you to recommend that the 'severe penalties' of your proposed law should be awarded, not according to the character of the publication, but the *intention* of the writer. Still, sir, we apprehend that no trivial difficulties will be experienced in the application of your law. The writer may be anonymous, or beyond the reach of prosecution, while the porter who deposits the papers in the Post Office, and the mail carrier who transports them, having no evil intentions, cannot be visited with the 'severe penalties;' and thus will your law fail in securing to the south that entire exemption from all discussions on the subject of slavery, which it so vehemently desires. The success of the attempt already made to establish a censorship of the press, is not such as to invite farther encroachments on the right of the people to publish their sentiments.

In your protest, you remarked to the Senate 'The whole executive power being vested in the President, who is RESPONSIBLE for its exercise, it is a necessary consequence that he should have a right to employ agents of his *own choice* to aid him in the performance of his duties, and to discharge them when he is no longer *willing* to be RESPONSIBLE for their acts. He is equally bound to take care that the laws be faithfully executed, whether they impose duties on the highest officer of State, or the lowest subordinate in any of the departments.'

It may not be uninteresting to you sir, to be informed in what manner your 'Subordinate' in New York, who, on your 'responsibility' is exercising the functions of Censor of the American Press, discharges the arduous duties of this untried, and until now, unheard of office. We beg leave to assure you, that his task is executed with a simplicity of principle, and celerity of dispatch unknown to any Censor of the Press in France or Austria. Your subordinate decides upon the incendiary character of the publications committed to the Post Office, by a glance at the wrappers or bags in which they are contained. No packages sent to be mailed from our office, and directed to a slave state, can escape the vigilance of this inspector of canvas and brown paper. Even your own protest, sir, if in an anti-slavery envelope, would be arrested on its progress to the south, as 'inflammatory, incendiary and insurrectionary in the highest degree.'

No veto, however, is *as yet*, imposed on the circulation of publications from any printing office but our own. Hence when we desire to send 'appeals' to the south, all that is necessary is, to insert them in some newspaper that espouses our principles, pay for as many thousand copies as we think proper, and order them to be mailed according to our instructions.

Such, sir, is the worthless protection purchased for the south, by the most unblushing and dangerous usurpation of which any public officer has been guilty since the organization of our federal government.—Were the Senate, in reference to your acknowledged responsibility for the conduct of your subordinates, to resolve 'that the President in relation to the suppression of certain papers in the New York Post Office, has assumed upon himself authority and power not conferred by the Constitution and laws, but in derogation of both;' instead of protesting against the charge you would be compelled to acknowledge its truth, and you would plead the *necessity* of the case in your vindication. The weight to be attached to such a plea, may be learned from the absurdity and inefficacy of the New York Censorship. Be assured, sir, your proposed law to punish the intentions of an author, will in its practical operations, prove equally impotent.

And now, sir, permit us respectfully to suggest to you, the propriety of ascertaining the *real* designs of abolitionists, before your apprehensions of them, lead you to sanction of any more trifling with the LIBERTY OF THE PRESS. You asume it as a fact, that abolitionists are miscreants, who are laboring to effect the massacre of their southern brethren. Are you aware of the extent of the reproach, which such an assumption casts upon the character of your countrymen?—In August last, the number of Anti-Slavery Societies known to us, was 263; we have *now* the names of more than 350 societies, and accessions are daily made to the multitude who embrace our principles. And can you think it possible, sir, that these citizens are deliberately plotting murder, and furnishing us with funds to send publications to the south 'intended to instigate the slaves to insurrection?' Is there any thing in the character and manners of the free states, to warrant the imputation on their citizens of such enormous wickedness? Have you ever heard, sir, of whole communities in these states, subjecting obnoxious individuals to a mock trial, and then in contempt of law, humanity and religion, deliberately murdering them? You have seen in the public journals, great rewards offered for the perpetration of horrible crimes. We appeal to your candor and ask, Were these rewards offered by abolitionists, or by men whose charges against abolitionists, you have condescended to sanction and disseminate.

And what, sir, is the character of those whom you have in your message held up to the execration of the civilized world?—Their enemies being judges, they are *religious* fanatics. And what are the haunts of those plotters of murder? The pulpit, the bench, the bar, the professor's chair, the hall of legislation, the meeting for prayer, the temple of the Most High. But strange and monstrous as is this conspiracy, still you believe in its existence, and call on Congress to counteract it. Be persuaded, sir, the moral sense of the community is abundantly sufficient to render this conspiracy utterly impotent, the moment its machinations are exposed. Only PROVE the assertions and insinuations in your message, and you dissolve in an instant every Anti-Slavery Society in our land. Think not, sir, that we shall internose any obstacle to an enquiry into our conduct. We invite, nay, sir, we entreat the appointment by Congress of a committee of investigation, to visit the Anti-Slavery Office in New-York. They shall be put in possession of copies of all the publications that have issued from our press. Our whole correspondence shall be submitted to their inspection; our accounts of receipts and expenditures shall be spread before them, and we ourselves will cheerfully answer under oath whatever interrogatories they may put to us relating to the charges you have advanced.

Should such a committee be denied, and should the law you propose, stigmatizing us as felons, be passed without enquiry into the truth of your accusation and without allowing us a hearing, then shall we make the language of your protest our own, and declare that, 'If such proceedings shall be approved and sustained by an intelligent people, then will the great contest with arbitrary power which had established in sacred charters, in statutes, in bills of rights, and in constitutions of government, the right of every citizen to a notice before trial, to a hearing before condemnation, and to an impartial tribunal for deciding on the charge, have been made in VAIN.'

Before we conclude, permit us, sir, to offer you the following assurances.

Our principles, our objects, and our measures, are wholly uncontaminated by considerations of party policy. Whatever may be our respective opinions as citizens, of men and measures, as abolitionists we have expressed no political preferences, and are pursuing no party ends. From neither of the gentlemen nominated to succeed you, have we any thing to hope or fear; and to neither of them do we intend, as abolitionists, to afford any aid or influence. This declaration will, it is hoped, satisfy the partizans of the rival candidates, that it is not necessary for them to assail our rights, by way of convincing the south that they do not possess our favor.

We have addressed you, sir, on this occasion, with republican plainness and Christian sincerity; but with no desire to derogate from the respect that is due to you, or wantonly to give you pain. To repel your charges, and to disabuse the public, was duty we owed to ourselves, to our children and above all, to the great and holy cause in which we are engaged. That cause we believe is approved by our Maker; while we retain this belief, it is our intention, trusting to His direction and protection, to persevere in our endeavors to impress upon the minds and hearts of our countrymen the sinfulness of claiming property in human beings, and the duty and wisdom of immediately relinquishing it.

When convinced that our endeavors are wrong, we shall abandon them, but such conviction must be produced by other arguments than vituperation, popular violence or penal enactments.

ARTHUR TAPPAN,
WILLIAM JAY,
JOHN RANKIN,
ABRAHAM L. COX,
JOSHUA LEAVITT,
SIMON S. JOCELYN,
LEWIS TAPPAN,
THEODORE S. WRIGHT,
SAMUEL E. CORNISH,
ELIZUR WRIGHT, Jr.
Executive Committee.

New York, Dec. 26, 1835.

Hugh Latimer and Henry the VIII.

Latimer preached before Henry, too plain, truth cutting text, and assailed the sin of which the monarch was guilty. The text stung him, but he would not yield to it. He sent for Latimer and said, "Your life is in jeopardy if you do not recant all you said this day, when you preach next Sunday." The people were anxious to know the result. The day arrived, the chapel was crowded, the King entered, the text was pronounced; after which Latimer began with the following soliloquy: "Now Hugh Latimer, bethink thee, thou art in the presence of thy earthly monarch, and life is in his hands, and if thou dost not submit thyself to his fancies he will bring down thy grey hairs with blood to the grave. But Hugh Latimer, bethink thee, thou art in the presence of the King of kings and Lord of lords, who hath told thee "Fear not them that kill the body, and then can do no more, but rather fear Him who can kill both body and soul and cast thee into hell forever! Yea let Hugh Latimer fear Him." He then proceeded in his discourse, repeating what he had before advanced, and if possible, enforced it with greater emphasis. After the exercises were over Henry sent for him again and said, "How durst thou insult thy monarch so?" Latimer replied, I thought if I were unfaithful to my God it would be impossible to be loyal to my king. Whereupon the King embraced the good old bishop, exclaiming, "Oh! is there yet one man who is bold and honest enough to tell me the truth?"

The Point of Honor.

Many of the wars which have occurred in this belligerent world, have been occasioned not by the importance of the subjects in dispute, but by the mere consideration of what is generally denominated "the point of honor." Nations have been involved in sanguinary conflicts, in relation to subjects as most trivial in themselves, solely because it was considered dishonorable for either party to yield to the other. In the year 1005, some soldiers in the Commonwealth of Modena ran away with a bucket, from a public well belonging to the state of Bologna; which has resulted in a long and bloody war. Another war once occurred between England and Spain, from the cutting off of the ears of an English smuggler. Now it must be obvious in such cases, that it could not have been for account of the value either of the bucket or the smuggler's ears, that these nations embarked in war—for both parties in any way sacrifice the value of a great many buckets and lose a great many ears—and heads too. It must, therefore, have been "the point of honor" for which they went to war. The party robbed of the bucket demanded satisfaction, and probably accompanied their demand with menace in case of non-compliance. The other party would very naturally say, we will not make restitution till you retract your threat, lest we stand before the world as poltroons, and thus be eternally disgraced. The menacing party would now say, I have a just claim on you, which I insist on your satisfying—nor will I descend from my dignity by eating my own words and making an apology. "Pay me what thou owest." So at it they would go; and after fighting till both get exhausted, they would probably make a treaty of peace, having accomplished no other object than to show the world that they were not afraid of each other.

Now, how many thousand pities it is, that some way cannot be devised to preserve the human race, in all cases of this kind at least, from the horrors incident to a state of war.

We have been thinking that a Board of Honor would answer the purpose to a charm. Suppose such a Board established, composed of individuals belonging to neither of the parties. Suppose that, without menace, they should say—You, Modena, ought to restore the bucket. You, France, ought to pay the United States. Think ye that Modena, that France, that any nation in Christendom, any nation on earth, would demur, would hesitate a moment, under such circumstances? No. The very point of honor itself would then clearly consist in immediate compliance with the decision thus made by the third, disinterested party; and immediate compliance would be the result.

Thus would war be disappointed of his victims, and the lovers of war of their game, and the people would be preserved in prosperity and peace. To say the least, the experiment is worth the trial; and humanity will wreathe unfading laurels around the brow of the Statesman that shall propose in Congress a measure of the kind; laurels verdant and blooming in their legitimate beauty, instead of dripping with tears and blood.—*N. Y. Sun.*

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